SOCIAL SCIENCES

NATIONAL REVIEW

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August 31, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Three on the Line

WILLMOORE KENDALL

For President—Lyndon Johnson?

SAM M. JONES

Horns of the Nuclear Dilemma

JAMES BURNHAM

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . JOHN F. KILEY

RUSSELL KIRK · GARRY WILLS · ANTHONY LEJEUNE

For the Record

In a poll taken by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion on the popularity of foreign statesmen, Eisenhower ranked near the bottom. India admires 1) Chou En-lai, 2) Nasser and 3) Tito. . . . Canada's Immigration Department has threatened to refuse entrance to immigrants who break their trip with a visit to the United States. . . . Leaders of the U.S. Delegation in London predict that disarmament talks will continue at least through December. . . . According to Chairman Lewis Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission, a luminous watch delivers more radiation "than all that received from the accumulated fall-out to date."

Carl J. Megel, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) hails the recent Supreme Court rulings as "gleams of hope like rays of clean sunshine in a murky sky" . . . In Richmond, Virginia, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that, the Jencks case notwithstanding, a defendant in a conscientious objector case is not entitled to basic records of the FBI. . . Vice President Nixon has warned Congress against adjourning before it passes legislation to protect FBI files. . . . The nine California Smith Act defendants, recently granted retrial by the Supreme Court, will probably not be retried as the witnesses on whose testimony they were originally convicted may prove impossible to reassemble.

Even if the natural gas bill were to be squeezed into Congress' tight schedule, it would probably not be passed. Thirty Congressmen who voted to relax gas regulations in 1955 lost their seats last year. . . . Congress has voted to require Secretary of Agriculture Benson to mail all soil-bank payments by September 15. Democrats do not want Republicans flooding farmers with checks on election eve.

Free Men Speak, the anti-collectivist monthly tabloid, is sponsoring a National Tax Protest Rally dedicated to the eventual repeal of the personal income tax, in Chicago on September 13. Inquiries about the meeting – which will be addressed by Hon. Ralph W. Gwinn, Willis E. Stone, Dan Smoot – should be sent to Free Men Speak, 7314 Zimpel Street, New Orleans 18, La.

Results of the Traver's Stake at the Saratoga Races: 1) Gallant Man, 2) Bureaucracy. Psychiatric examinations are in order for those who bet on the winner.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● *Man Does Not Live By Bread Alone Department.* "(New York, U.P., Aug 13) FBI agents opened a bank safe deposit box rented by alleged Soviet master spy Col. Rudolf Ivanovich Abel today and found $15,000 in cash. . . . A second box, in another bank, contained only a copy of the Feb. 7, 1957 *Reporter* magazine, agents said."

● In California, another major operation of Liberal strategy has, we suspect, got under way. Governor Knight has delivered himself of a blast obviously aimed at Senator Knowland, and begun a contest whose ultimate object must be that of eliminating the Senator as a contender for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. California's Governor has shown himself an able practitioner of the now fashionable technique of attaining office by posing as a conservative, and then acting in it like the Liberal candidate who has been defeated. The success of his strategy in California depends, of course, on the accuracy of the Liberal calculation that conservative voters, like the fish in our rivers, will never learn from experience. Gallup polls show, we are glad to report, that the race begins with Senator Knowland well in the lead.

● The street railway employees in Lodz, Poland, who went on strike to raise their below-subsistence wages, were met, in succession, with: 1) a long speech by Premier Gomulka; 2) the night sticks of the local police; 3) the tear gas and bayonets of Gomulka's army. The misguided strikers must have been reading the testimony of the State Department experts who persuaded Congress to grant Gomulka a hundred million dollars of unconditioned aid.

● Opinions may differ as to what it means, but the fact is now beyond dispute: The Soviet Union has closed Peter the Great Bay to the outside world (in contravention, says the State Department, of international law), and is busy building installations there that are suspiciously like those it would build if it had dreams of further conquest in Asia. Item: A 10,000-meter concrete waterfront with mechanized terminal facilities. Item: A naval cordon of 30 vessels around Vladivostok. Item: Missile bases at points just inside the mouth of the bay. "Soviet Russia," comments the Chinese Nationalist Foreign Office, "will [now] pose a greater threat to the national security of Japan and the Republic of Korea."

● A letter to the *New York Times* reveals that Eaktay Ahn, the leading Korean composer and performer who knows both Eastern and Western music, is not so knowing in the ways of American politics. He should have got Khrushchev to endorse his application to the State Department for a period of study and concerts in America. Naively, Mr. Ahn got Syngman Rhee to sponsor his request instead. By a kind of reflex habit, in the same week in which we showered visas on Soviet cultural ambassadors, we turned down Mr. Rhee; the same conditioned reflexes would have shot out our arm and framed our mouth in a famous smile, did Khrushchev but nod on us. Mr. Ahn had many things to recommend him—composition of the Korean national anthem, his classical opera, the post of conductor at Palma; 'twere better simply to be Red.

We are honored to announce that Mr. Whittaker Chambers will resume his career as a journalist to join the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW. Mr. Chambers will write regularly, beginning in the next few weeks.

● The President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Philip M. Talbott, takes exception to President Eisenhower's "deceptive" philosophy of the federal government's responsibilities as set forth at the recent Governors' Conference in Williamsburg, Va. "There was an implied conclusion," says Mr. Talbott, "that if state . . . governments did not fully meet the presumed governmental needs or demands of their people, there was a standing invitation for the national government to intervene." Such an assumption, concludes Mr. Talbott, "tacitly ignores the fact that the desires of the people may be in excess of either the ability of the private economy or governmental action to fulfill them." The assumption does more than that: it totally ignores the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which says that powers not granted to the federal government are reserved to the states, or to the citizens thereof. If the states or the citizens can't or won't meet their own desires, it is a pretty good sign that Washington has no business to try.

● The newsstand is a harem full of photograph-houris. Though this is distressing, most of the sex-magazines appeal to a normal human appetite. There is one, however, more successful than any other (three million copies each month), with several zealous imitators, which combines with lust a sadistic pleasure in hurting real people ("we name the names"). To this brew is added envy (since the magazine hurts only the famous of movieland), and the

pleasures of the chase, or manhunt, or lynching mob (the spy-methods used to track down these stories are always hinted at). And, in a grand sweep, the magazine, after tickling every evil nerve in man, touches finally his righteousness; poses as a champion of truth, reforming Hollywood in a great crusade. The corruption involved in collecting (or creating) the stories, dressing them in salacious words, and distributing them makes us hope the law has finally caught up with *Confidential*. Otherwise, to bookstand addicts the Marquis de Sade will come to look like a saint.

● The Liberals have long dressed their idols as famous heroes of the past, "daring to dissent." Most of the costumes—that of Socrates or Galileo—are badly worn by now, so Gerald Johnson finds a new series of Adlais in history, men of rejected greatness. He calls his collection "The Lunatic Fringe," and who should review it for the *New Republic* but Adlai himself. Has Stevenson discerned his features here? Modestly he draws this moral from the tales: "The politician who preaches preventive medicine for the body politic has consistently been rebuked at the polls." The moral of Sockless Jerry Simpson's life becomes that of Socrates and the hemlock or Adlai and the election, whence the book's dedication: "To the unterrified American." It was obviously a mark of the terrorized *not* to vote for Adlai.

● *Bedtime story*: Once upon a time (1949-1950) there was an American Consul-General at Taipei, Formosa, who didn't like the Chinese Nationalist Government very much. His name was Bobbie C. Strong, and according to testimony by Admiral Charley M. Cooke (USN, Ret.) before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Bobbie kept predicting that Formosa would fall within one or two weeks, and made everybody very sad, except the Communists of course. But don't worry, children. Bobbie Strong isn't in Taipei any more. He is now counselor of embassy, chargé d'affaires and acting head of the U.S. Mission in Damascus, Syria. Now you just go to sleep.

● The AFL-CIO employs 225 union organizers, men who go about the country to speak to non-union employees of the joys of organization. It appears that the organizers developed their art so highly that they sold *themselves* on unions, and took the logical next step of forming their *own* union, a union of labor organizers. Having done so they applied, as a matter of routine, to their employer, the AFL-CIO, for a charter: and what should they run up against but a bunch of scabs, headed by one George Meany, who took the position that they have no right whatever to organize, that they are an integral part of management, and let's call off this grisly joke. The organizers' union promptly filed a protest with the National Labor Relations Board, and, in doing so, thoroughly traumatized Mr. Meany who moaned, "Frankly, I think these fellows want to put us in the position of making us appear to resist a union." We, of course, side with Mr. Meany. For we are looking far into the future, to the day when the organizers of unions of union organizers will be asking for *their* charter, and the union organizers will be saying they have no right to it.

● The Lutheran World Assembly heard Dr. G. Elson Ruff, editor of the *Lutheran*, deplore the *irreligious* political decisions of Lutherans—of the Lutherans who voted for McCarthy, the Lutherans who would even today defend the rights of private property, and one conspicuous sinner, Representative Walter, whose stand on immigration is nothing less than ungodly. Fortunately Dr. Ruff was able to discover one Lutheran who walks in the way of the Lord—Judge Youngdahl. *He* dismissed the case against Owen Lattimore. So easy has it now become, in Dr. Ruff's view, to certify one's participation in Divine Grace. But is it not curious that the Divine Will has come so often to coincide with the revelations of St. Marx?

Walter Reuther's Sneak Pitch

Mr. Walter Reuther's offer to ease up in the United Automobile Workers' 1958 wage demands if Chrysler, Ford and General Motors will knock $100 off the price of their cars has been dismissed by the companies as "propaganda," which is what it is. Nevertheless, the offer has been couched in such conciliatory, "for-the-good-of-the-whole" language that it is important to deal with it in terms of analysis, not contemptuous dismissal.

What Mr. Reuther has done is to base his appeal on the broadest possible grounds. He is speaking in "the interests of all American consumers." And, since cheaper cars might broaden the market, he is seeking "to protect and advance the interests . . . of stockholders." So far, so good. But the specious quality of Mr. Reuther's magnanimity becomes apparent the moment one looks to see what he is willing to give up in order to help consumers, stockholders and the American economy in general.

The answer is that he is not proposing to give up anything that his workers already possess. The UAW has already suggested an outsize demand for 1958—nothing less than the four-day week for five days' pay (with time-and-a-half, of course, for any hours worked on a fifth day). Having posed these terms, it is easy for the UAW to retreat a bit.

The companies, however, are to be allowed no such leeway. They are to take $100 from their 1957 prices, not from their projected figures for 1958. Mr. Reuther is proposing, in essence, to trade a mark-down from a projected high mark-up for a mark-down from an existing scale which has not resulted in a particularly prosperous automobile year. If the automobile companies were to pursue Mr. Reuther's tactics, they would first add $200 to the price of 1958 models and then offer to cut back from there.

Even if the trade of a price scale for a wage scale could be arranged on an equitable basis, it is doubtful that this in itself would ever constitute a good springboard for union-management negotiations. The automobile companies make wage agreements for months, even years, in advance for one reason: the exigencies of collective bargaining compel them to do it. But if contractual wage obligations are to be met, companies must feel free to adjust their prices in relation to projected "break-even" points. That is a problem for business judgment, not for management-union negotiation. Anyway, it is the market that sets the price of cars in the long run, not the guesses of those who would "administer" the price. To let Mr. Reuther in on the price guess would not change a thing except to make management a more cumbersome and costly job.

Kreuttner

" . . . and greater leisure will allow mankind to enjoy more of what we all value above everything: Cultural pashtimsh and virtuoush purshootsh!"

Oman Repeats a Lesson

There has been much dispute over the moral and political propriety of the Anglo-French attack on Suez and this summer's British action in the Sultanate of Oman. But on one point—and not the least important—there is no ground for disagreement: the military operations were, in both instances, sloppy. The Western nations again proved, when put to the test, that they lacked both the organization and the doctrine for solving the military problem of "little wars."

Military analysts assert that an adequate air-borne operation should have been able to win control of the Suez Isthmus within four to five hours. As for Oman, the British-led native units were initially repulsed for the absurd reason that the revolting tribesmen had superior automatic weapons. The movement of support from and by air was a lumbering three-way shuttle via Cyprus and Kenya. And the attack aircraft didn't know what to do when they did get into action. The delays, with the exposure of military ineptness, permitted a consolidation of political resistance. In the case of Suez, the result was a dismal, thorough defeat. Its effect on Arab minds can only be reinforced by the faltering clumsiness of the British response in Oman.

The implicit military lesson applies to us no less than to our allies, for we also have failed to develop either the organization or the doctrine for the effective conduct of little wars. Preparing against a possible H-bomb holocaust, we systematically neglect the fact that we are actually living through an era of little wars that stretch in an almost continuous series from Greece and Malaya and Israel through Korea and Indochina and Suez and Algeria, a series that the news from Syria suggests may not yet have ended. Once you get into little wars, whatever their abstract merits, it is preferable to win than to lose or prolong them.

The Eisenhower Doctrine Fades

In the aftermath of the pro-Soviet coup in Damascus there echoes throughout the nation's editorial columns the usual question: What can we do about (this time) Syria? No one really expects a reply, of course, or even wants one—perhaps because we all know in advance what the true reply would have to be. There is nothing that we can do about Syria, nothing serious, nothing that will significantly affect the long-term outcome. There is nothing to do—so long as we have no Middle Eastern policy. And Mr. Eisenhower himself, at his press conference last week, admitted our impotence (without, of course, citing the reason).

The Eisenhower Doctrine is not a Middle Eastern

policy, but an elaborate (and expensive) effort to avoid the necessity of adopting a policy. It is impossible to have a policy for the Middle East without facing unequivocally an issue that is at once very simple and very difficult. Economically the Middle East is the world's greatest known reservoir of petroleum, chief present source of energy for advanced industrial civilization. Geographically the Middle East is the land bridge between Asia and Africa, the southeastern flank protecting or threatening Europe, the channel between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The issue is this: Is it essential to the security of the West, and of the United States in particular, that this geopolitical entity, the Middle East, be kept from enemy (*i.e.*, Soviet and Communist) control? That is all there is to it, at bottom. The Middle East is either essential to our security, or it is not. If it is not, there is no reason to fret over what may happen to Syria or Turkey or Iran.

Now the Eisenhower Doctrine recognizes that it is preferable that the Middle East should be free from Moscow, and declares our readiness to spend a certain amount of money and effort, within certain limits, to further that freedom. But is Middle Eastern freedom from Moscow's control *essential* to our security? On this the Doctrine is silent, and therefore, as we have so often said, strategically meaningless.

If the Middle East is essential, then in order to keep it out of enemy hands we must be ready to do, not this or that with this or that reservation, but *whatever* is necessary. Nothing less is serious, and nothing less will serve. In Syria our enemy shows us once again that even the longest UN resolutions, the most pious appeals to international morality and the most costly foreign aid programs do not deter him. He is stopped only when power, backed by the readiness to use it, is brought firmly to bear.

Materially considered, the Western position in the Middle East is by no means so black as it is currently being painted. We are still shielded from any likelihood of general war by our overwhelming retaliatory power. The West still controls the communications to the Middle East. The "dependence on oil" works both ways, since the Arabs can get no substantial material benefit from their one great resource except by collaborating with the West. The anti-Communist Baghdad Pact is more than a juridical fiction. Syria, though with a new allegedly Communist Chief of Staff, is still short of satellization. There is a good deal of bluff and blackmail in the moves of the Arab leaders, who have often proved how shrewdly they can exploit rifts among the infidels—Russian as well as American, French and British.

But the political strength of our material position is valueless if we do not have the will to use it. If the Middle East is indeed essential to our security, is it not a strange and abject folly that the great fleets of the West stand idly off as Soviet warships occupy parts of Syria and Egypt, while Soviet freighters land tanks and planes designed for use against our Middle Eastern friends? Will we be so profligate of our own future as to permit a gang led by Moscow's agents to call themselves a government, and to arm and organize a Mideastern Yenan?

What we wrote a year ago of the Suez seizure is no less true of the Syrian coup today, and will be true also of tomorrow's crisis, if we have still failed to face the ultimate policy issue. "What is called for is not a sudden dramatic move but a reversal of historic direction. . . . Is this, then, the ideal occasion for a 'showdown'? Certainly not—and the 'ideal' occasion never comes. . . . Only this may be said: poor as this one is, the occasions of the future will be progressively worse."

Again and Again and Again

"The military part of [the Eisenhower Doctrine], the most important part, is surely trying to solve the wrong problem, as if a man should put a fence around his yard to keep out mosquitoes. The President is to be authorized to take military measures in case, a) a Soviet military force invades a Mideast nation, and b) the government of that nation asks the United States for help. But the chances are many to one against such a double eventuality. The Soviet move into the Middle East is being accomplished not by direct military invasion, but by a gradual and *invited* military entry prepared by political and economic infiltration."

NATIONAL REVIEW, January 12, 1957

"We revert to the central weakness of Mr. Eisenhower's program: what are we to do to frustrate Soviet colonization of the Mideast if, as is to be expected, it is to be attempted in the characteristic Soviet mode? Specifically, what are we to do if—as now threatens in Syria—the Communists succeed in satellizing a nation by internal action?

"Evidently we will do nothing. Mr. Dulles now assures the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that U.S. forces would be sent into action in the Middle East only against armed aggression, and never to topple a Red government set up by subversion . . .

"If that is so, the Eisenhower Doctrine is strategically meaningless."

NATIONAL REVIEW, January 19, 1957

Who Sups with the Devil . . .

How to deal with the American youths who defied the government in visiting Red China, as guests of the Red Chinese government? It is a difficult question. What do we want to accomplish? Do we want to castigate the offenders, as lawbreakers, that justice may prevail? Or do we want merely to make an example of them, sufficient to deter the next man who flouts the law, and abuses an American passport? The problem vexes the Justice Department, as it does all of us.

Surely the only effective reaction to these young people could come not from prosecuting attorneys, but from friends and associates, from the communities in which they live; from the only sources that all men fear and respect. On returning to the United States, the travelers will be much in the public eye. Local newspapers will interrogate them, national newspapers and magazines may publish their drivel. They may be looked upon by fellow students as men of signal courage, their defiance an act of rugged self-assertion, their sacrifice, if there is to be one, made on the altar of freedom of information.

A different welcome is in order. The youths in question are, very simply, persons of retarded moral and intellectual development. They know so little of the meaning of the crisis of our time as to accept the favors of an enemy cynically engaged in exploiting their naiveté. They feel no compassion for their own countrymen, who languish in Red Chinese jails, or for the millions of Chinese who are tormented by the same men who are squiring them about the land. The proper response is pity for their immaturity, contempt for their selfishness, and boredom with their message.

More Bread, More Guns

The news from Yugoslavia is that the wheat harvest will be the largest since 1938. Before the war, indeed, wheat was one of Yugoslavia's principal exports, but under Tito she has thus far subsisted largely on American handouts of about a million tons of wheat each year. This year's bumper crop, everyone agrees, was made possible by the return to private ownership of almost all the land that Tito had confiscated and collectivized. The peasant proprietors, who now buy, work, and sell for themselves, have shown that the facts of economic life and human nature can be changed by neither the sentimental rhetoric of Marxian theorists nor the animal ferocity of Marxian practitioners.

It is a commentary on the confusion of the American mind that we as a nation are tempted to rejoice because the experience of Yugoslavia has confirmed a truth that has been demonstrated conclusively—for all who will see—a thousand times each day in every one of the six thousand years of man's recorded history.

The news is no cause for general satisfaction in the United States. It does not mean that Tito has had a change of heart; or that he will be less inclined to use for his own aggrandizement, whenever he thinks it opportune, the arms that he has been given by Russia and the United States. It does not mean that the Yugoslav peasants, whose life has been made more livable, will be more likely to overthrow Tito or bring on a schism between him and the Kremlin. It does not mean that the Hungarians and Rumanians, however great the envy with which they may look at the wheat waving richly in the fields of their more fortunate neighbors, will be able to destroy Russian tanks with their bare hands. What it might well mean, ironically enough, is that the amelioration of the life of Yugoslav peasants, effected by bourgeois methods, may strengthen the Communist hand.

Below the Table and Above the Law

The testimony before the Senate committee which is currently investigating racketeering in labor unions sounds more and more like a replay of ancient investigations of Tammany Hall in the "tin box" era. There are, for example, the tidbits about Anthony Doria, a friend of Johnny Dio and former secretary and treasurer of the Allied Industrial Workers Union. Doria, according to statements made before the Senate committee, kept tens of thousands of dollars of funds from defunct locals in a box covered with old papers on a shelf in his office. The President of the union knew the money was there, but didn't know the combination to the box. If Doria wanted $130,000 to attend a convention, he would simply draw a check to himself for that amount. If he wanted money to lend to a company, he would, on evidence presented, simply take it and lend it.

These are fascinating items, and we commend Senator McClellan for getting them on the record. Nevertheless, as the revelations about labor racketeering become more and more juicy, the danger increases that Congress will be diverted from a consideration of the far more important dangers that lurk in less lurid phases of union activity. It is bad enough when a union official siphons off union dues to an aerial mapping company in which he happens to have an interest. But far more actual damage may be done to our economic system by practices that come within the law. There is, for instance, the

damage that results when an industry-wide wage agreement makes it impossible for a fringe company to remain in business without seeking protection by merging with a bigger unit.

As Senator McClellan's investigators close their seines over the riffraff of the union movement, the big fish swim calmly by. Compulsory unionism promotes what amounts to industry-wide bargaining. Industry-wide bargaining leads to a calcified high-wage, high-cost and high-price business structure. Monopoly is the end result. The process grinds inexorably on as the McClellan Committee gets its laughs out of the anguished squirming of a few individual racketeers who have nothing to do with the main problem: labor's exemption from laws which bind everybody else.

Being a Vicious Attack on Our Foreign Policy by a Reactionary Legislator

The Clerk [of the House] read as follows:

United Nations expanded program of technical assistance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a), $15,500,000: *Provided*, That the United States contribution to the 1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 percent of the United Nations program;

MR. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Gross: Page 3, line 15, after the word "program" strike out the semicolon, insert a colon, and add the following:

"Provided further, That a reasonable amount of the funds provided herein may be used for the underdeveloped areas of the United States of America where women's wearing apparel is made from feed bags, such funds to be available to and distributed by the University of Pennsylvania."

MR. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am constrained to make a point of order against the amendment on the ground that it is legislation on a appropriation bill.

MR. GROSS. Would the gentleman reserve it, please?

MR. PASSMAN. I reserve the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

MR. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I will not take but one minute. I came across an item the other day that reads as follows:

University Park, Pa.—Clothing specialists at Pennsylvania State University say women annually convert more than 100,000 cotton bags into dresses. The 100-pound feed bag, which contains 1 1/3 yards of reusable fabric, is the most widely used for home sewing.

Mr. Chairman, if a report reached this country that 100,000 women in some foreign country were wearing feed-bag dresses, I have no doubt that some bureaucrat in Washington would immediately organize a small army of do-gooders and arm them with a few million dollars to see that they were equipped with the latest style cotton dresses.

It occurred to me that out of the $15 million here being appropriated to the United Nations that perhaps we might take care of the 100,000 women in those underdeveloped areas of the United States who seem to be wearing feed-bag dresses.

I concede the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

From the *Congressional Record*, 15 August 1957, pp. 13534-5 (during debate on Mutual Security Appropriations Bill).

The Stricken Franc

Duly and inevitably reflecting the realities of the French economic situation, the value of the franc on the black—that is to say, the free—market has been cheapening month by month since last year's Suez crisis. From an "official" rate defined by political decree as 350 francs to the dollar, the true rate defined by economic reality has sunk to 450. Since a gap so wide has the effect of either blocking foreign exchange transactions or driving them into illegality, the French government has finally been forced to take notice. Finance Minister Felix Gaillard, with a flourish of publicity, has acted to dampen France's financial flames—by pouring on more gasoline.

M. Gaillard has added new distorting controls to the old set that has been the primary cause of the franc's collapse, and has swollen the monetary jumble with "tourist francs," "import francs" and "export francs" that are drearily reminiscent of the autarchic excesses of Nazi financial methods. The free convertibility of francs into other national currencies, indispensable step to French fiscal health, is pushed further than ever into an undated future. Soon, we may be sure, M. Gaillard will come knocking at the door of the U.S. Treasury to beg for the handout that will pay for that one last drink that the alcoholic always thinks he needs in order to make up his mind to go forever on the wagon.

NATIONAL REVIEW takes pleasure in announcing the appointment of Maureen L. Buckley, author of "The Ordeal of Adam Clayton Powell" (June 8, 1957) as an Associate. Miss Buckley is a graduate of Smith College, 1954, where she was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. She worked as an editorial associate of The Christophers (1955), and has been associated with NATIONAL REVIEW since the first issue.

Mr. William S. Schlamm will be on leave of absence from NATIONAL REVIEW until further notice and will not, for the time being, perform editorial duties.

For President—Lyndon Johnson?

For the Senate Majority Leader, says the author, a Presidential campaign would be an obstacle race; nonetheless he would prove a strong candidate

SAM M. JONES

So many things can happen between now and the summer of 1960 that only a certified political prophet would dare predict the choice of the Democratic National Convention in the next Presidential race (or the choice of the GOP). So far as I know there are no C.P.P.'s extant, but speculation is a compulsive "must" for politicians and political writers.

In recent weeks, the name of Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas has been mentioned with increasing frequency. Since his election as Senate minority leader in 1955, his colleagues have recognized his extraordinary talent for uniting his own deeply divided party, and his unique ability to obtain the support of Republican Senators for Democratic legislative proposals. But he did not become a popular national figure until he accomplished the seemingly impossible task of shepherding a Civil Rights bill successfully through the Senate. The unadorned facts clearly indicate the magnitude of this achievement.

They include: a) prevention of a seemingly unavoidable filibuster, b) expert maneuvering by which the Democratic Leader took command of an Administration bill, remolding it in such fashion that the GOP would receive minimum credit and maximum criticism; c) Senate amendments to the House-approved bill which made it acceptable both to the South and to the NAACP!; d) final passage of the Senate-amended bill with every Democrat (except ex-Republican, ex-independent Wayne Morse) voting for it; and e) the first closing of Democratic ranks since Harry Truman split the party wide open.

There are several reasons advanced why Johnson may *not* become the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1960. One obstacle is the tradition that no state south of the Mason-Dixon line can elect a native son to the Presidency. In this reporter's opinion, this taboo may soon go by the board. The state of Johnson's health is a more formidable deterrent. Like President Eisenhower, Johnson has suffered and recovered from a serious heart attack.

Efforts to induce Johnson to seek the nomination will certainly increase and intensify until and unless he takes himself out of the race irrevocably—which is unlikely. He is not a coy politician, but he knows that from a partisan viewpoint it is sound strategy to prevent the opposition from concentrating its fire on a single candidate. While he is neither an avowed candidate nor positively unavailable, the GOP will have to use ineffective scatter-shot rather than turn its artillery on a single target.

Senator Kennedy's Chances

The current front-runner for the Democratic nomination is Massachusetts' junior Senator, John F. Kennedy. Unlike Johnson, Kennedy has made known his availability. Upon completing his Southern tour—he was sometimes introduced as "Dixie's most popular Yankee"—he announced that he would accept his party's nomination if it came his way. He demonstrated his high standing in the South during the Democratic National Convention of 1956 when he ran against Estes Kefauver for the Vice Presidential nomination: the Southern delegates were solidly behind Kennedy, a New England Catholic. If he wins the nomination in 1960 he will have the unqualified support of practically all the important political leaders in the South, as well as that of most influential Democrats in the other states.

But Senator Kennedy faces two major obstacles below the Mason-Dixon line. First, if Johnson becomes a candidate, Kennedy will be fortunate to get more than a handful of Southern delegates. If, however, Johnson should withdraw *in favor of Kennedy,* it would probably assure his nomination on an early ballot. The second obstacle—religious prejudice—may be illusory. Al Smith's defeat in 1928 is not final evidence to the contrary. Herbert Hoover was the Eisenhower of his day—sought by both parties; the ideal candidate in the opinion of millions of Democrats as well as Republicans. Governor Smith and his supporters were held suspect by their own party: they were held responsible for the riotous marathon Convention in 1924, which, after exhausting weeks of wrangling, only chose a compromise candidate on the 103rd ballot. The Convention bosses felt that Democratic chances couldn't be worse; that there was nothing to lose by giving Al Smith the nomination, and much to gain by a defeat that would put an end to the internal row in the party. The election threw more heat than light on the question whether a Catholic could be elected to the White House.

Senator Johnson's Record

Notwithstanding their handicaps, both Johnson and Kennedy are regarded as far better qualified to challenge the Republican nominee than any of the other known Democratic possibilities. There is much evidence to support the claims of those who favor Johnson as the best bet—if the sectional taboo is utterly discounted in his case and the Catholic taboo in Kennedy's. At 49 Senator Johnson is a veteran: he served six terms in the House before he was elected to the Senate in 1948. In 1953, he was chosen Senate Minority Leader, the youngest man in either party ever to hold that post.

At first, critics said that Johnson was not doing anything. But his extraordinary talent for persuading responsible men to work together soon caught the attention of professional observers. Working in a deceptively slow and easy fashion, he began the long, hard job of uniting his badly split party. The Senate vote on the Civil Rights bill is merely the latest fruit of this constant effort to produce party harmony. There were many previous indications that he was also winning respect and popularity on the Republican side of the aisle. Frequently when the late Senator Taft was Majority Leader, they cooperated on legislative proposals which could not have succeeded without their combined effort. This was true, for example, in the fight over the Tidelands Oil bill—an Eisenhower measure strongly opposed by a number of powerful Liberal Senators of both parties. At a time when the bill seemed doomed because of a Liberal filibuster, Johnson rounded up enough Democratic votes to insure victory.

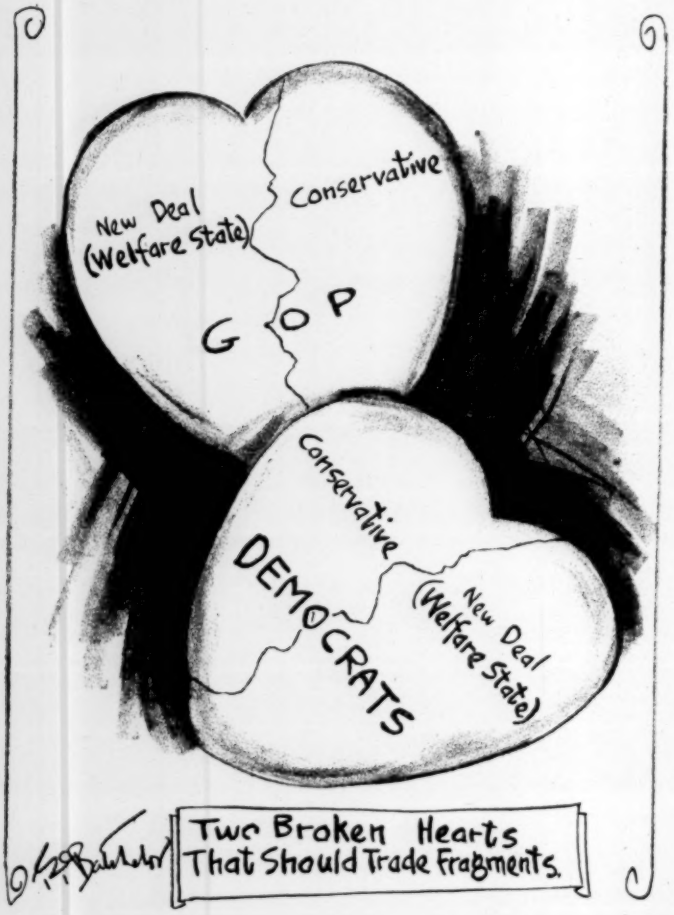
When the Eisenhower Middle-East Doctrine was sent to Congress early in this session, it was Johnson, with assistance from Byrd and Mansfield, who rewrote the Doctrine and included the provision permitting the President to use troops in a crisis but denying him the power to declare war. The Johnson-Byrd-Mansfield team also inserted the date—June 30 of this year—for terminating the President's authority to spend up to $300 million.

For Economic Reform

Senator Johnson is seriously concerned over the danger of inflation. He sees in the steadily rising "price of money" and the tremendous cost of servicing the national debt the failure of the Eisenhower Administration's monetary and economic policies. As Majority Leader he will in all probability introduce a Democratic program of economic reform during the next session. Although his language is more restrained, he shares Senator Byrd's opinion of recent decisions of the Supreme Court. He is an active proponent of measures to restore to Congress its constitutional authority as the only branch of government empowered to write the nation's laws. Although he favors foreign aid, he was responsible for the provision in the current foreign aid bill that all grants shall be revised and put on a loan basis. As he has pointed out, all but one of the dozen countries which have received U.S. loans have been paying off their obligations.

If he should be nominated, there would be no rejoicing in the ADA or among Liberal Internationalists. His nomination would leave most Big Labor bosses uneasy. Democratic National Chairman Butler may be out of the picture long before 1960, but he too would be unlikely to cheer Johnson's nomination.

Johnson is confident that the Democrats will retain control of Congress in the '58 elections and increase their majorities in both Houses. It is a good bet: in the Senate, only four Democratic seats are at stake outside the South, and in all four cases the incumbents seem reasonably sure of re-election. They are: Kennedy of Massachusetts, Pastore of Rhode Island, Mansfield of Montana, and Jackson of Washington.



Trek to Texas

Between the adjournment of Congress and the opening of the next session there is likely to be heavy traffic to the LBJ ranch in Gillespie County, Texas. In a country where ranches run into hundreds of square miles, the Johnson spread is only a trifling 300 acres with some additional non-contiguous property, but Lyndon Johnson is justly proud of his Hereford herd and deeply in love with the hill county where his grandfather and grand-uncle settled in 1849.

Visitors to LBJ will see the original homestead. They will also have the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Johnson, *née* Lady Bird Taylor, who is an important figure in the Johnson story and one of her husband's soundest advisers. Perhaps some perspicacious visitor will come back with the answer to the question: "Will Lyndon Johnson run?" And perhaps after the long journey and the earnest inquiries, he will only be able to reply: "Who knows?"

Three on the Line

WILLMOORE KENDALL

From time to time, NATIONAL REVIEW publishes statements on the nature of conservatism by reflective and literate Americans. We publish this week excerpts from an address recently delivered at Bowdoin College by Mr. Willmoore Kendall, of NATIONAL REVIEW's staff. Mr. Kendall was at Bowdoin to explore the question, "What is the conservative approach?" with Mr. Theodore Kaghan, who is a well-known Liberal journalist.

If Bowdoin College keeps good archives, it has in its possession somewhere an application for admission that I sent to it in 1924 from a small town in Oklahoma named Idabel; just as I have in my possession somewhere a courteous but definitive letter telling me that many were called to Bowdoin but few were chosen, that I was *not* among that year's few, and that Bowdoin's good wishes—or perhaps, in those remote days, it may have said Bowdoin's prayers—would follow me to any more daring institution that might see fit to admit me. There was some mention of Bowdoin's strong preference for young men who had just completed their secondary education; but the Dean was too honest a man to let it go at that, so there was also some mention of Bowdoin's need to maintain standards, and of the undistinguished grades I had received at another college I had attended. I was very unhappy about the letter; I strongly felt that the college's "approach" ought to have been less conservative; I felt —as Mr. Kaghan and his friends do— that the good things of life should be distributed as freely to those who have not earned them as to those who have earned them; I felt, in a word, as the foolish always feel when their appetites run up against the hard and unpalatable truths of conservative wisdom.

The Dean and I, however, are now quits: the bread he cast upon the waters has come back to him a hundred-fold—in the form of a speaker who is prepared to defend all of those hard and unpalatable truths, is honored to do so at an institution so integral to the American tradition as Bowdoin College, and is doubly honored to do so when he can share the day's billing with so distinguished a spokesman of Liberalism as Mr. Theodore Kaghan.

First now some preliminaries that we must get out of the way before we can understand each other about the conservative approach. They have to do with the vexed question: *Who are the Conservatives?*

Heresies

1. The usual procedure for dealing with that question—even among people who ought to know better—is this: "The Conservatives are trying to 'conserve' something handed down out of the past. The problem, then, is to identify that moment in the past when men we know to have been conservatives were making their voices heard. Let us study attentively what those men said, and get clear in our heads what their principles were; and let us, thereafter, apply the word Conservative to those men and movements in the present who have remained faithful to those principles.

You are, I am sure, familiar with this way of slicing the problem; and the first point I want to make is that it won't do. There is no moment in history you can point to and say, "This is when the Conservatives showed their true colors"; and while we can, perhaps, identify voices out of the past that were articulating Conservative principles, the only way to recognize them is by knowing *before*hand what principles we are listening for.

2. A second methodological heresy lies in the simplistic notion that Conservatism is sheer opposition to change. Among the writers of our day, Professor Clinton Rossiter—the Trojan Horse that Mr. Kaghan and his friends have spirited into the Conservative camp—has done most to popularize this way of looking at the matter. It is, I believe, root and branch wrong. Wrong, first of all, because it tends to identify Tradition, about which Conservatism is passionately concerned, with a static state of affairs, with which Conservatism has no concern whatever. Wrong, secondly, because it makes no distinction between opposition to change and opposition to change in undesirable directions. And wrong, thirdly, because it conceals the fact that the essence of Conservatism often expresses itself in an insistent demand *for* change—sometimes, indeed, in a demand for *drastic* change. Professor Rossiter, in a word, merely obscures the problem before us. His purpose is not to explain Conservatism, but to make it look foolish.

3. Nor can we define the Conservative approach by spotting the "real" American Conservatives of the present. I take no pleasure in recording the fact, but the *dramatis personae* of contemporary American politics includes no adequate spokesman of the Conservative approach. Senator Bricker, for example, does yeoman's service for Conservatism when he presses the struggle for his Amendment, and any Conservative worth his salt will not only wish him well but give him vigorous support in that struggle; but one knows, sight unseen, that his voting record on many other matters would be hardly less Liberal than, say, that of Senator Douglas. The late Senator McCarran earned the undying gratitude of all Conservatives when his Internal Security Committee forced the facts of the Communist conspiracy upon American public opinion; but he was also the spokesman of the silver states, and by playing that role made the sort of compromise with principle that Conservatism most deplores. Senator McCarthy's battle against the bureaucrats for a tough loyalty-security program in the government service was a Conservative battle; but his voting record on, say, agricul-

tural subsidies is one over which the Conservative can only shudder. Representative Francis Walter, whose task it is to fight off the Liberals' semiannual attacks on our traditional immigration policy, can be sure that the nation's Conservative elements will rally behind him; he is, for that one purpose—the purpose of preventing further inroads upon the nation's cultural homogeneity — a Conservative; but I seldom encounter his name in connection with other Conservative causes. Senator Byrd, similarly, speaks for Conservatism on the budget; Senator Knowland sometimes speaks sound conservative sense on foreign policy and, most particularly, on the falsity of the ideal of world government; but I should not be in the least surprised to find him voting with the Liberals on one or two of the other issues I have mentioned.

In short: one of the peculiarities of American public life is that whereas there *are* Liberals (Senator Humphrey, Senator Douglas, Representative Celler, the learned justices of the United States Supreme Court come to mind) who go down the line with Liberalism, so that the stand they will take on any given issue is readily predictable, there is no comparable phenomenon on the Conservative side.

4. My fourth point has to do with the prominent Liberal propaganda theme that the American political tradition is a "Conservative tradition" with a "Liberal content." Like the other heresies to which I have alluded, this one also has its element of truth: the American political tradition *is* a Conservative tradition, and to a very considerable extent the great political decisions of recent decades *have* reflected Liberal ideas. But to leap from this statement about the immediate past to the conclusion that the content of our tradition is Liberal—that, as Myrdal would have us believe, what Americans are bent on conserving out of the past is a frenzied zeal for Liberal reforms—is in my opinion to miss the point about our politics. The American political tradition is a profoundly Conservative tradition, with a profoundly Conservative content; *but precisely for that reason American politics tend to be about Liberalism.* The basic inertia of our politics is a forward Conservative inertia: when American society "changes" it changes for the most part—as Conservatives wish it to—in the proper direction; that is, in the direction in which it must change in order to become more and more like itself at its best. Changes in that direction—the various steps in the evolution of our present party system are conspicuous examples—tend, however, to take place quietly, unobtrusively, and without becoming sharp political issues. Of late, to be sure, our politics have tended to be very noisy indeed; but the reason is that the Liberals, here as everywhere rebels against our Tradition, do not wish American society to become more and more like itself—wish it, rather, to become something very different from itself. They are, therefore, constantly putting forward proposals for making it over in their image of what a society should be like—proposals born of their instinctive dislike for the American way of life and for the basic political and social principles presupposed in it, and certain, therefore, to run up against vigorous and uninterrupted Conservative resistance. And "presupposed," come to think of it, is just the right word. For the fundamental beliefs involved in a way of life tend, I believe, to remain inarticulate—to be lived rather than spoken or argued about—until a political force arises that is capable of destroying it. Liberalism is not (or at least not yet) such a force. But its proposals are, increasingly, the subject-matter of American political discussion.

'Ism without 'Ives

This explains, it seems to me, why we have in our political life no consistent and articulate spokesmen for Conservatism. Since the American political tradition *is* a Conservative tradition with a Conservative content, and *is* clearly understood as such by those who live the American way of life and love it, it has—up to now at least—required no political party to represent it, no political theorist to set it down in black and white, no statesman to embody and symbolize it. The "Conservative" political leaders who arise to fight off Liberal attacks upon the tradition's content do not vote together, do not support each other, indeed, do not particularly like each other; they do not go down the line with a corpus of Conservative doctrine, because there *is* no line to go down, no corpus of Conservative doctrine to be faithful to. Senator Byrd rallies the resistance on this Liberal proposal, Senator McCarran on that one, Representative Walter on yonder one; and because Liberalism, though not strong enough to dominate our politics, is strong enough to keep them confused and on the defensive, each tends to play out his Conservative role merely with respect to the one or two issues *he* happens to have got mobilized about and understands. The Conservative position, in consequence, is the sum-total of their respective positions on the series of issues the Liberals are pressing; and up to now, I repeat, no greater unity among them has been needed. They make up, so to speak, the machinery through which our Conservative people defend their way of life. The absence of unity among them is a sign not of weakness but of strength; and the mood, the animus, and (to the extent that such a thing exists) the political philosophy that underlie their stands on their respective issues add up—and at last I come to my assigned topic—to the "Conservative approach."

Let me illustrate what I mean by trying to put into words what seems to be the Conservative position on three of the current Liberal attacks on the American tradition, namely:

First, the Liberal attempt to construe the First Amendment as a firm mandate for an *"open"* society, which involves the entire Liberal stand on such matters as the current persecution of the Communists, academic freedom, and the fundamentally religious basis—that is, the Judaeo-Christian basis—of American society. Second, the Liberal attempt to transform the American political system into a *plebiscitary* system. And, third, the Liberal attempt to construe the American tradition as an egalitarian tradition, friendly to the kind of levelling whose predictable result would be world-wide uniformity—of economic status, of subordination to something called the Conscience of Mankind as expressed by something called the United Nations, of religious or rather irreligious belief, and of political philosophy and organization.

On the first of these matters, the question whether the First Amendment to the Constitution is to be treated as a mandate for an open society, the Conservative takes his stand in line with the Great Tradition in political philosophy. He assumes, with Plato and Aristotle and Hobbes and Rousseau, that any viable society has an orthodoxy—a set of fundamental beliefs, implicit in its way of life, that it cannot and should not and, in any case, will not submit to the vicissitudes of the market place. He assumes, again with the tradition, that no society can survive—or should survive—without foundations driven deep in religious belief. And he assumes, with the authors of the Declaration of Independence, that no *good* society can be conceived that does not regard itself as moving through History—I take the phrase from Eric Voegelin—under God, ultimately therefore under a law whose source is the divine will, for a purpose that lies outside History. He finds in the First Amendment no mention of a right to think and say whatever one pleases, or of a duty on the part of American citizens to tolerate and live with and interminably discuss any and every opinion that their neighbors may take into their heads. And he holds that if the First Amendment *does* recognize such a right and such a duty, then the moment is coming when the First Amendment will have to be brought into line with Conservative principles regarding the character of the good society.

The Conservative, then, views with pride the fact that the American people have always construed the First Amendment, despite what it says about an established religion, as *not* forbidding them to acknowledge God on their coins, or in their oath of allegiance, to exempt religious institutions from taxation, to open sessions of their national legislature with prayer, or to retain chaplains in their armed forces. He views with horror the thesis of Mill's "Essay on Liberty" according to which a man can hold and publicly defend any opinion, however repugnant to morality, and still be regarded as a good—or even acceptable—citizen. And—to come to the main point—he regards the present clear determination of the American people not to permit the emergence of a Communist minority in their midst—their determination, as I like to put it, to place the price of being a Communist so high that no American is likely to pay it—as a manifestation of good sense that he can only applaud.

In a word: if by an open society is meant a society built on an unlimited right to think and say what you please, with impunity and without let or hindrance, then Conservatism holds that American society is *not* such a society, and must not become such a society.

Secondly, Conservatism views with profound disapproval American Liberalism's increasingly clear intention to realize the plebiscitary potential in the American Constitution. Conservatism does not deny that that potential is *present* in the Constitution: Article V, which deals with amendments, is obviously an authorization for—if not an invitation to—the submission of even our most fundamental institutions to popular debate and, ultimately, majority-rule. The plebiscitary potential—the majority-rule potential—is, I say, there as far as the Constitution is concerned, but the American political tradition, happily, has always taken a dim view of it; and the American people—who, I repeat, have proved themselves to be better carriers of their political tradition than any individual among them—usually choose to operate their Constitution as if its plebiscitary potential were absent, and to that end have developed four political *habits* that have been clung to in a way that enables us to regard them as established American institutions. First, the habit of not abolishing the filibuster in the U.S. Senate. Second, the habit of not upsetting the apple-cart as regards the seniority system in congressional committees. Third, the habit of not organizing themselves—we are speaking, remember, of the American people—in political parties of an ideological or programmatic character, which might separate them off into huge, sharply-opposed groupings capable of turning American elections into plebiscites. And, fourth, the habit of being difficult to mobilize for political purposes, especially the political purpose of amending the Constitution.

Here, entirely outside and independent of the Constitution, are the real guarantees in America against plebiscitary elections and unlimited majority-rule; and they reflect, as I see it, a sober and sustained judgment on the part of the American people that nation-wide plebiscites are not good instrumentalities for making public policy, and that even if they were, we must not use them because of their tendency to divide us, to make us bad friends with one another.

Habits under Pressure

These four habits, however, are precisely the points in the American political system upon which the Liberal intellectuals keep up their most insistent pressure. The filibuster, they repeat over and over again, must go, for how else can we get integration in the South? The seniority system, they shout from the roof-tops, must go; for how else can we get rid of Senator Eastland? What the nation needs, they tell us alike in their speeches and in the textbooks they write for our political science courses, is two parties that *really* disagree, so that every election will provide a real *mandate* for a clearly understood program. The instinctive refusal of the American people to mobilize for political purposes, they assure us, is just what is *wrong* with American politics; let us, therefore, tie more and more people into the political process, into a mass-communications network that keeps people's minds on politics to the virtual exclusion of all else.

Well, on all four points, Conservatism can only say: You are breaking with the American political tradition, which is not that sort of thing at all; and we will resist you to the last.

Which brings me to my third and last issue, namely, the increasing tendency of Liberals to appeal, if I do not misunderstand them, to the principle of equality in its crudest form. I for one seem to sense such an appeal in much of the current argument in favor of foreign aid, where the idea seems to be that *because* we are rich and they are poor, it is our duty to share our riches with them. I seem to sense such an appeal, again, in much of the current argument against segregation, where the idea seems to be that if anybody enjoys

(Continued on p. 191)

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

For Orléans Read Altrincham

Lord Altrincham's brash attack on the Queen and her court was most gratefully received by harassed editors searching for a breath of news in the summer doldrums. They reprinted the offending article; they published interviews with Lord Altrincham; they photographed him being assaulted in the street; they found a couple of irate old peers to say that Altrincham should be shot and a wild young Marquis to say that he too thought the Queen's voice was a pain in the neck.

As so often happens in modern political arguments, neither side could really claim the respect of reasonable men. Just as Lord Altrincham attacked the Queen for the wrong reasons, so her champions defended her for the wrong reasons. Lord Altrincham's remarks were chiefly condemned for being "in bad taste," a charge almost wholly irrelevant even if any precise meaning could be attached to it. Very few of those who waxed most indignant had so much as read the article in question.

This was actually quite moderate and patently sincere, though a man of greater sensibility than Lord Altrincham would have realized that its vulgarity of style was bound to give offense even though none were meant. It said that the Queen's public utterances lacked substance or personality; that her voice was affected; that her children should attend state schools; that she should rid her Court of "the tweedy set" and replace them with democratic representatives of a multi-racial Commonwealth. Unless she did these things, the monarchy would be in serious danger once the glamour of a young Queen had faded.

Lord Altrincham's views on the Queen should be considered in the light of his other published views. He inherited both his title and the magazine he edits from his father, but nevertheless disapproves of the hereditary system: with considerable ostentation he refused to take his seat in the House of Lords. He disapproves of public [private] schools (he was at Eton himself) and would like to see them "reformed" by law. He disapproves of the "outmoded" way in which the Church of England is run. He disapproves of "imperialism" and applauds Mr. Nehru. In short, he is a "left-wing Conservative," one of that noisy group who see themselves as the only hope for the Tory Party.

These people led the Conservative opposition to the Government's action over Suez. Being for the most part young and intellectual, they have acquired considerably more influence over Conservative thought than the substance of their philosophy deserves. But the public sees them for what basically they are—trimmers, appeasers and compromisers, Socialist sympathizers who for various reasons balk at a full-blooded Socialist program. Even if they happened to be right, they would find this a dangerous policy. History has shown time and again that the politician who tries to safeguard his own position by moving nearer to that of his opponents soon finds himself on a fatal slope. This is what destroyed the Liberal Party in Britain, and in Eastern Europe it cost Masaryk and Benes their lives.

The Company He Keeps

It is often illuminating to look at a politician's allies. In his dislike of the public schools, Lord Altrincham has the Labor Party firmly behind him. In his theory of the Commonwealth, he finds support from such statesmen as Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bandaranaike. His fullest exposition of "the new Conservatism" was published in the *Observer,* which is nowadays an incorrigibly left-wing paper. When the first howl of indignation had died down, his views on the monarchy were applauded both in the Socialist press and by natural levelers of every kind.

Lord Altrincham himself believes in the monarchy but he does not believe in the hierarchical society which alone gives meaning to a monarchy. Inevitably, therefore, he finds himself keeping company with downright anti-monarchists. Similarly, in international politics he certainly believes in "the Western democratic way of life" but he finds himself keeping company with people sworn to destroy it.

Such men usually fall victim to the revolutions they help to create. Their crime is arrogant sincerity unallied to principle. They cannot lead and they will not serve. These are the men who dismantled the British Empire and see nothing wrong with the present constitution of the United Nations; who approve of the Welfare State but refuse to call themselves Socialists; who dislike inflation but dislike far more the measures needed to stop it; who oppose Communism but oppose anti-Communism much more strongly; who seek to preserve Western civilization without the structure which created it. Lord Altrincham's real soul-mate is the leader of the Engineering Unions, who said this week that if it was all right for some of his members to seek guidance from Rome, it couldn't be wrong for others to seek guidance from Moscow.

This whole rather foolish attack on the Queen was more mild in its terms and evoked a much stronger reaction against it than the sort of things that were being written a century ago; which in itself suggests that Lord Altrincham may have been wrong about the popularity of the throne. The fiery colonels and peppery peers who sprang up in defense of the Queen were moved by prejudice and unreasoning sentiment no less than Lord Altrincham himself. This is proper enough, for the idea of loyalty to a monarch is a sentimental one and none the worse for that. But disputes of this kind show how insidious has been effect of "left-wing Conservatism." The right wing of the Tory Party has forgotten how to defend its own policy on rational grounds. Personally I make no apology for being a monarchist but, like Lord Altrincham though for different reasons, I blush for my allies. When I heard a few weeks ago that Spain was to have a king once more, I rejoiced; but the British monarchy is the one I should really like to see restored.

Real World for Sale

JOHN F. KILEY

A great deal of technical philosophical literature has piled up on problems relating to the existence of things. Many metaphysical thinkers are busily concerned with the fact that things which do not really exist have begun to dominate us more and more. The plight of the average man is understandable. A man can understand why he is hungry when a fox has run off with his hen but will wonder how a wheat-level statistic can have an appetite. Undeniably it has, because there is a food surplus while millions starve and what is this if not a statistical appetite? Surely it is only a common-sense judgment that when a statistic eats more than a fox it is at least as real as Reynard if not more so.

It is also much wiser. A well-educated statistic is almost like a god. Only the number of babies that it allows can be born next year, nor can those well-counted numbers of adults escape the inevitable death by cancer that has already been determined for them by the rapid calculator. Not much virtue is needed. Be patient for just a split second and your fate will be revealed.

Now a good metaphysician can easily show that we slip out of the real world when we deal with real things numerically. The seven men who are supposed to die in Main Street accidents every month are not men at all. Men, of course, exist only in the present. Even the image of a future event can live only in the present of the one producing it, while corresponding to nothing real, for what may be is but a pure hypothesis. If the existential act given to a man by God be suddenly withdrawn next month as he crosses Main Street he will die at that moment and not before. What the statistic had executed was the essence of man in seven purely mental operations, man with neither legal address nor family, for whom no one weeps, nor funeral plans are made. But since the essence of man is mortal and he is *per accidens* absent-minded, a good guess based on past human behavior will envision seven men heeding neither their frail human nature nor the traffic lights. The best proof that statistics move in an ideal world is seen when not a single man dies on Main Street during a particularly accident-free August. Of course, statistics recovered its losses by adding one accident to each of seven other months during that year.

Detecting the Counterfeit

The danger is when the work of statistics stops predicting and begins to regulate. Skipping easily from numbers to men it becomes sociology. Of course, numbers have no sociology. They neither hunger nor thirst nor procreate. At the same time man is one man but he is not one. The important thing about twenty tons of food is that it is food and not that it is twenty. Thirty men are not more important than one man because in statistics thirty is closer to a hundred than one is. Metaphysically, of course, there is no such thing as thirty men. There is a man, another man and still another man.

It is clear, then, that to be realists we have to be able to spot the unrealities in life as a preliminary to escaping their domination. It is true that the human mind passes from the real to the ideal world so easily as to confuse one with the other. Counterfeit bills are forever in circulation, but only the unobserving get cheated. But just as some counterfeiting work is undetectable except by an expert, the work of common sense which tries to stay in the real world needs a science to help it. This is metaphysics, the science of being or of that which is. When the conditions for real existence are elaborated by metaphysics, then for the first time are we in a position to recognize scientifically the real and the ideal worlds. We are at last capable of constructing a real sociology which deals with real men and the real problems of such men.

Statistics becomes an instrument for such a real sociology and not a substitute for it. Men are now seen not as abstract essences which take on an increasing importance as larger numbers opposed to smaller, or possessing numerical unity which has swallowed up all existential individuality. They are seen rather in their unique, metphysical value, with rights that transcend collective selfishness, national policies, and individual greed. The excess foods of the world immediately become the possessions of the starving, whose right to exist it is the duty of every man and every nation to recognize ethically and discharge practically.

It would be the habit of mind of the statistical sociologist to reject such principles as naively idealistic. Figures could be brought forth to show the necessity of the present sociological attitudes. Population indices can be balanced against crop-yield figures and precipitation-rates against a bank of IBM calculators, to register the winning total. There are punch cards for weather cycles constants, soil erosion averages, population variables, all producing master cards which tell how human beings are to be sociologically, *i.e.*, humanly, regarded per unit area studied. Certainly only the worst philosophical confusion could allow a real world to disappear down the mouth of an electronic computer without a protest. Only a sociology blinded by the most glaring mathematicism and oblivious to twenty-five centuries of mature philsosophical thought could equate a man with the quantity he may be said to represent.

The door to the idealist world swings easily in and then locks shut. It invites the careless, the one-eyed, the regressed, the dreamer. Its peculiar fascination, as Anton Pegis has remarked, is that it binds men to nothing. And men who are no longer fed by realities set up laws of the appetite for everyone else. If these men just happen to be idealist sociologists it is too bad for those who await their help. A father cannot rule unborn sons or feed his family from locked barns. He cannot pray to a weather cycle or question the fate that has already been calculated for him. His protection is in his common sense, but how much safer would he not be if a supporting science of metaphysics prevailed more in his world than it does?

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Troubles Within the Soviet Union: An Inventory

If we ask ourselves which are the weak points of the Soviet Union, the points to which Western propaganda should be directed, we find they are an incredible number. Each, by itself, is not considerable enough to bring about the downfall of Communism, but still a contributing factor to eventual decomposition.

An inventory of the factors exerting a negative influence on the present Soviet regime would include the following:

1. "Self-criticism." Encouraged by the government as a safety valve, more often than not it acts as a boomerang, because defects uncovered are frequently due to the system and the ideology rather than to individual failings. Witness the vain efforts at "decentralization."

2. The murderous intrigues and the systematic denigrations of Soviet leaders who only recently figured as objects of boundless adulation. The recent anathemizations make violent criticisms of entire, fairly recent periods of Soviet history the order of the day and these, in turn, create a general feeling of insecurity. Dogmatism and flux contradict each other.

3. The constant invocation of a better, remote past, either through the study of history (possible for a few), or the reading of classics, which are currently being read and even devoured by the masses.

4. The crisis of materialist philosophy, a phenomenon of the greatest importance in university circles and among intellectuals. This is coupled with the complete bankruptcy of atheistic propaganda on a higher level. (Last year a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences recommended the mass manufacture of cheap telescopes in order to destroy faith in a Heavenly God enthroned above the clouds!)

5. Religion, surviving in a variety of forms in many quarters and, in recent years, exercising a special attraction for youth. Man will always be inquisitive about the "wherefrom" and the "whereto." Dialectic materialism has no answers to these questions.

6. The obsoleteness of "proletarianism." The new society of castes is an incontrovertible fact; yet in spite of new pseudo-aristocratic forms of life, the old proletarian slogans are mechanically and thoughtlessly repeated.

7. The immense boredom felt by all people, for whom the monotony of life has been broken only once—by the war. (Hence the permanent theme of war in present day Russian literature.)

8. The decomposition of the youth through so-called "Western imports" (which act on them as the measles did on the Red Indians): jazz, drunkenness, sexual libertinism, juvenile crime, etc.

Endless Sacrifices

9. The constant demand for new sacrifices. Work is a double-edged sword. Heroism is demanded to feed idealism. On the other hand, the endlessness of suffering proves the futility of socialism.

10. The indubitable success of free enterprise, a fact known all over Russia.

11. The libertarianism among intellectuals and artists who, more than any other group, need and demand freedom, since they cannot create unless they are free. (Here, as in Hungary, the poets and writers act as spearheads of criticism.)

12. The creeping economic crisis, due in part to the irresponsibility bred by state capitalism, in part to the permanent agrarian problem and the disproportionate stress on armament.

13. Radio propaganda, which is more effective and far more listened to than Americans assume.

14. The great uneasiness over China, whose Communization and initial organization was the work of the Kremlin.

15. The mixture of enthusiasm and disappointment over the satellites, especially Poland and Hungary, nations which showed "ingratitude" and "exemplary courage" and which put the tenuousness of Russian foreign policy in a new light.

16. The fact that furious opposition to the Kremlin has come from the Communist parties in "friendly nations"; that these parties have proved themselves as little reliable as the "allied armies."

17. Nationalism, which again works both ways. It is partly favored, in a kind of "Russian Sovietism," by certain government propaganda, seeking to exploit nationalist instincts in the service of Soviet imperialism. Yet there is also much anti-Russian (anti-"Muscotive") nationalism, e.g., Ukrainian, Baltic, Caucasian.

For a Free Russia

There is little doubt that these chinks in the Soviet armor can be widened by foreign contacts. One of the strengths of the men in the Kremlin is the inability of the younger generation to visualize a concrete alternative to the Soviet system. There is no "public opinion" and no free "exchange of opinions" in the USSR, and thus, in spite of a mounting wave of anti-Sovietism, there is no general agreement as to what should replace the present tyranny. Opposition is never enough. There has never been a successful revolutionary movement without a real vision of an order to replace the old regime. In the opinion of this writer such an alternative vision could certainly not be offered as a prefabricated item to the Russians; they must "invent" it themselves. Moreover, it presupposes seeing and experiencing patterns of government in the free world, from which its constituent parts must be taken to form a new synthesis. Thus, for a free Russia of tomorrow the active intellectual cooperation of the West is indispensable. Yet, although it would seem that Continental European forms and ideals would necessarily play a larger role than those of the United States (or Britain), the task of organizing these bridges and exchanges still rests with America. What the Russians need is a "midwife" rather than a "Bureau of Adoption."

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Perplexities of American Education

Cheerfulness will keep breaking in. Despite the sorry state of American education, we may yet accomplish a salutary reform; for surely the number of sound books criticizing our pedagogical errors increases every year, and in the long run these books will make themselves felt. The question remains, however, whether there will be much in the way of American education left to redeem by the time such books have penetrated even unto those fastnesses of obscurantism, the teachers' colleges and schools of education.

Dr. William Clyde DeVane, Dean of Yale, delivered last year at Tulane University the first series of the endowed Mitchell Lectures; and they now are published in a slim volume, *The American University in the Twentieth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, $2.50). Together with some rather dubious criticisms of John Henry Newman, he utters some thoroughly Newman-like observations on the mission of the university:

> For the university has a larger and more important task than merely being the immediate servant of society. It needs to stand somewhat apart, though deeply concerned; to be the severe but friendly critic of the society; to raise the intellectual tone of the society; to be the arbiter of public taste; to call its attention to reason and principle; to keep the culture of the nation in balance; to remind the people of their history, their ancient ideals of freedom and justice; to guard their spiritual state.

But Dean DeVane finds our college students miserably unprepared for this great work of the university. We are in imminent peril of losing the "dynamic minority" which gives any society its health, he writes. "Our high schools have already been flooded by incompetent pupils, taught by relatively fewer and less competent teachers than formerly. And this is a fate that is looming over our colleges at the present time." At most colleges, the present writer might add, the fate does something more than impend. Dean DeVane's indictment scarcely can be ignored altogether by the "patronage network of Teachers' College, Columbia," which is forever assuring us of how wonderfully schooled our "wonderful boys and girls" are; he says, for instance:

> It is soon apparent that in their elementary and high school experience our students have not mastered the basic intellectual tools and skills —they have not learned to think with any accuracy, to read with any comprehension, to write with any precision, or to speak well. Nor have they to any appreciable extent acquired the basic moral and civic virtues, for all their courses in citizenship, so necessary to a society that aims to be democratic and free. They show little respect for law and order, and less concern for their fellow men. They exhibit what has been called 'a devastating egalitarianism,' and their chief desire seems to be to conform to a low level of mediocrity.

Candid Critic

And Mr. Ernest Van Den Haag has published a book as perceptive as Dean DeVane's, and in a number of respects more original: *Education as an Industry* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley). This is much more interesting than its title suggests. It is a study of the best way to obtain the most satisfactory results, economically speaking, in formal education; but it is also more than that, being accompanied by a great number of wise asides and critical reflections. Mr. Van Den Haag thinks that our colleges and universities ought to be financed by their alumni, not by private or governmental subsidy: that is, the educational institutions should contract with their students for repayment of the cost of their instruction, once these alumni are at the height of their subsequent earning-power.

Though in several ways a sound and promising thesis, this proposal carries with it the danger that humane studies would be neglected by the colleges in favor of utilitarian training: for an engineer, a business-administration graduate, or a physician would be a surer investment than a student of poetry, theology, or history. The author is willing to allow subsidies for the liberal arts, recognizing this difficulty; but he does not go so deeply into the question as one might wish.

As a candid and fearless critic of fallacious theories of education, however, Mr. Van Den Haag always is on secure ground. The doctrinaire humanitarian and egalitarian sloganizing of President Truman's "Commission on Higher Education" suffers here a dissection equalled only in the late Gordon Chalmers' *The Republic and the Person*. Mr. Van Den Haag demolishes, for instance, the whole argument of the President's Commission *in re* racial segregation in schools: "The Commission's second ground is that inequality is an effect of segregation. The evidence for this consists of a *post hoc propter hoc* argument. Segregation need not lead to discrimination. Though sometimes a means to discrimination, or a disguise, it is neither identical with it, nor the cause of it."

Though a staunch advocate of equality of opportunity in education, Mr. Van Den Haag despises cant. This paragraph, for instance:

> Thus there are dangers to democracy in too much education as well as in too little. Indeed, education is a most dangerous thing. This fact is slowly—too slowly—being recognized today. It should be obvious in view of wars started and unspeakable cruelties committed by the most educated peoples. But we are far from acting on it. Rather, we tend to repeat uncritically H. G. Wells' dictum that history is "a race between education and catastrophe," forgetting that, unfortunately, education may promote catastrophe as well as compete with it. . . . The cry for "more education" without a specification not only of contents, but of the whole social context in which it is to take place, may well promote the conditions which those who utter it wish to remedy.

Yes, I think that such voices as these will be heard. But before they are heard, so much wisdom and intellectual discipline may go by the board that the restoration of learning may be incalculably difficult.

ARTS and MANNERS

GARRY WILLS

O'Neill and Offenbach

New Girl in Town, the musical adaptation of O'Neill's *Anna Christie*, follows the gold-mine formula of *My Fair Lady*: talk the songs through a veil of music, insert a stock comic character, and marry off the principals in the end. But O'Neill's bittersweet romance does not respond to the treatment as did Shaw's romp. Cymbals and athletic dancing do not seem out of place against the scintillating mental acrobatics of *Pygmalion*, but the sordid O'Neill atmosphere is quickly dispelled by the splash and blare of a Broadway musical.

This is to be regretted, since *Anna Christie* has not the unrelieved sordidness we know so well today. O'Neill gets the best of both worlds, dramatically, by combining the most sentimentally romantic heroine with the most cynically unresolved plot. Anna is the Dickensian prostitute with a heart of gold, and Matt has as soft a center. But an ironic twist at once satirizes and saves the conventionally romantic characters: the two hurt and perhaps destroy each other not by their toughness and their bitter past experience, but by their tenderness, their ideals and longing for purity. These lead Anna to lie about her past, and then to proclaim it; they lead Matt to spurn her, then return to her as to his sin, cursing his weakness, embracing what he thinks is his damnation by "the Luthers." The play is Sophoclean in that the characters, though low and bred in rottenness, suffer because of their noble intentions.

In the musical this delicate blend of romance and realism is blasted away by uninspired music and choreography. O'Neill's oppressed girls become an Offenbach chorus of cancan dancers (with the least subtle plagiarisms from Offenbach to set them going), and the tragedy of Anna's situation is hardly expressed by the erotic ballet that shows her hard at work in Minnesota. The drama is externalized: Anna, instead of tormenting Matt and herself by refusing marriage and revealing her past, is betrayed by Marthy. But she overcomes this merely external obstacle by a merely external redemption as a girl farmer—the most absurd *deus ex machina* foisted on O'Neill all evening.

One would think that all the poignancy of "Anna" must disappear under these handicaps. But it does not, due to the magic performance of Gwen Verdon. Strangely enough, it is precisely in what remains of O'Neill —the "straight" scenes wherein she is not singing and dancing—that this musical comedienne excels. The twisted smear of her mouth; O'Neill's symbolic fog in her hoarse voice, making it catch and quiver and grow soft; the cynical-sentimental extremes of her reactions—these quietly bring Anna into the chaos. True, she is always jerked out of these moments in order to sing or join the chorus line, to save her soul by raising potatoes, and throw herself into Matt's arms for the curtain. But the earlier pictures of her dereliction remain more vivid at that final curtain than her songs or her chorus routines. Anna was here.

Auntie Mame: Two Formulae

Patrick Dennis—pardon the insult—deserved to write a best-seller; *Auntie Mame* is a model of strategy. Other books limp to the top on sex-appeal or snob-appeal; his soared there on a shrewd combination of the two. They are skillfully blended so that one never weakens the other, and both remain unobtrusive. All doped draughts succeed, first of all, by concealing their ingredients. They must be swallowed before they can work. And once Mr. Dennis had slipped his "mickey" to the public, he found it lying at his feet.

The play, back in town and at the top with Rosalind Russell as the outrageous aunt, is not the same potion, but it is concocted in the spirit of Mr. Dennis; his adapters try to distill the perfect theater-formula as he did the best-seller-formula. The book slipped its "mickey" across in a martini; the play tries to disguise it in a soft drink as part of the syrup.

In the book, Mame perfectly expresses the scorn of exurbia for suburbia, of rich Democrats for "the moneyed Right," of the self-consciously "bohemian" for all who cannot mix exotic drinks, Freudian terms, modern art, and freakish company. To this charming dissolute add a dash of the crusader when the "race question" is brought up, and there you have the ideal of the exurbanite and his admirers, the people who make best-sellers out of mere books. Stock as are these ideal traits, Mr. Dennis has mixed enough of them in Auntie Mame, and labeled her so persistently as "unconventional," that she finally does seem fresh and different.

But a truly unconventional figure doesn't fit the theatrical formula for getting most directly to an audience. Theater, as opposed to drama, works on blatant identification with the hero, followed by direct displays of emotion, bathed in the correct lighting, forcing the quick tear. Auntie Mame must become, then, a part available to rapid identification. She is fashionably unconventional, the typical whirl about town with "daaahling" always on her lips. She directly mothers and weeps over "her boy," and protests that she is a woman under all her feathery gowns and fluttering gestures. "Her boy," too, the nephew, is no longer the sophisticated filter through which sex and snobbery are sifted in the right amounts. He must have a conventional relation to the *grande dame*, become her foil, a gawking Watson to the overpowering Holmes.

The many costumes worn by Miss Russell give *Auntie Mame* the air of a fashion display, an effect which underlines the "identification" formula, for fashion shows, too, make the women picture themselves as the star model. Many women sitting around me sighed as much at Miss Russell's gowns as at her petting of the "sweet little boy."

Unfortunately, Miss Russell's theatrical sense is too quick; she knows, without thinking, what kind of part this is. She might have brought some real originality to Mame; instead she milks the stock "daaahling" and the choked "my boy" with a trouper's relish and finesse. It brings the house down. There the public is again, out cold; again, doped.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Horns of the Nuclear Dilemma

JAMES BURNHAM

Our military doctrine is oriented on a weapons system too powerful and too nearly suicidal to use, except in an extreme case not likely to occur. Our foreign policy consequently loses all flexibility. Cut off from supporting military roots, our diplomacy operates in a void. Our conceptions allowing for no lasting postures between all-out war and all-out disarmament, the military services prepare feverishly for the one while our diplomacy frenetically pursues the other.

In his *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (Harper & Bros., $5.00), Henry A. Kissinger thus poses our national dilemma. He seeks a path between its horns by following the historical, theoretical, technical and organizational turnings of a doctrine of "limited warfare."

Granted our prevailing ideas, we are being immobilized by the incredible power of our own weapons, like a cabinet-maker whose only tool was a sledge-hammer. Our entire military effort focuses on the massive retaliatory arm designed to smash the physical structure of Soviet power in a quick, catastrophic showdown. Even while we had an atomic monopoly, the vastness of our own power inhibited its use. No actual or probable provocation could seem to justify such a scale of destruction. This earlier inhibition is now (or in the near future will be) reinforced by the certainty that American as well as Soviet cities will be destroyed in a thermonuclear showdown, however begun.

Floundering in this ironic impasse, Western diplomacy seeks a way out through pacifist illusions about disarmament, coexistence and the renunciation of force. Mr. Kissinger carefully proves that a diplomacy unrelated to the ability to use force, "far from leading to a resolution of tensions," might rather "perpetuate all disputes, however trivial." But though today, in the massive retaliatory arm, we possess more than ample force, we cannot use it. We cannot do without it, of course, because it is the indispensable shield against direct Soviet onslaught. But beyond its passive, defensive shielding function, the expensive and exacting deterrent arm serves no political purposes, and is indeed in many respects a political liability. Our reliance upon it reflects a doctrine that defines no middle ground between war and peace, and understands war only as a total conflict leading to total victory or defeat.

Mr. Kissinger's solution is a radical break with established doctrine and its consequence for practice. We must accept the idea of *limited warfare*, and make ready to conduct it successfully.

> There exist three reasons [Mr. Kissinger sums up], for developing a strategy of limited war. First, limited war represents the only means for preventing the Soviet bloc, at an acceptable cost, from overrunning the peripheral areas of Eurasia. Second, a wide range of military capabilities [in addition to the massive retaliatory arm] may spell the difference between defeat and victory in an all-out war. Finally, intermediate applications of our power offer the best chance to bring about strategic changes favorable to our side.

In historical perspective it is limited rather than all-out ("unconditional surrender") warfare that is the normal mode. Mr. Kissinger believes that the logic of the development of nuclear armament imposes a modified return to older conceptions that the first two world wars have blurred. And, in fact, there have been several limited wars since 1945. We would be considerably better off if we had planned for them, and fought them more intelligently. Our military organization, like our military doctrine, is pre-nuclear; and Mr. Kissinger's analysis leads to proposals for drastic organizational changes at all levels from Chiefs of Staff to field units.

Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy has been largely reviewed, and I shall not here attempt to summarize the careful chapters in which Mr. Kissinger enlarges, supports and applies his central theses, and relates them to his informed and thoughtful estimate of the world situation. I wish to turn to an undiscussed puzzle: how does it happen that this book is sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, that bristling fortress of the Liberal Establishment; that it has been so extravagantly praised by such Liberal hierarchs as Gordon Dean, who writes the preface, Hamilton Fish Armstrong (editor of *Foreign Affairs*), whose words are the jacket blurb, and J. Robert Oppenheimer himself, whose paragraph is the feature of the publisher's advertising?

Now this is a puzzle because Mr. Kissinger's analysis and proposals are by their implicit logic a massive retaliatory assault on the foundations of Liberal foreign policy. On coexistence, disarmament, banning of nuclear weapons, Soviet "sincerity," coddling of uncommitted nations, even on the Korean war, Mr. Kissinger shatters the logical supports of the Liberal façade. Why, then, are the Liberals—some of them at any rate—greeting his book with warm smiles instead of cold knives?

I do not know the whole answer, but parts of it may be the following:

1. Mr. Kissinger attacks no individual by name. He gives the evidence, often the direct quotations, that demonstrate the mistakes and stupidities of Marshall, Bradley, Ken-

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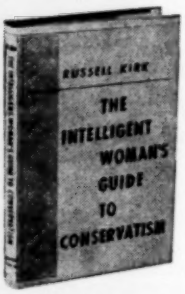

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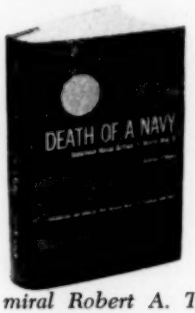

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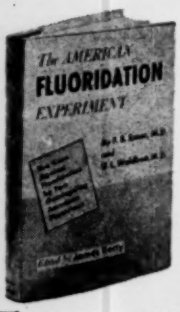

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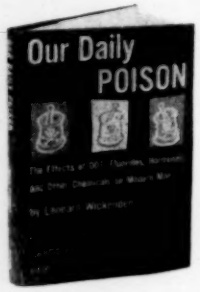

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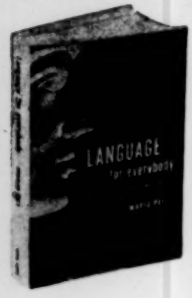

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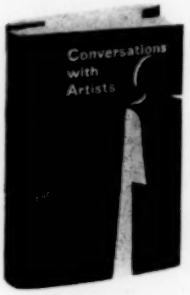

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nan, Eisenhower, Acheson and nine-tenths of Liberal publicists. But, like those who denounce Communism but not Alger Hiss, he never says explicitly that any one of them was mistaken or stupid.

2. Neither his text nor his bibliography cites any Liberal-anathematized writer, although such citation would seem not infrequently relevant and sometimes almost compulsory from a scholarly standpoint. After all, a good part of the cogent analysis of, say, Soviet intentions and methods is not altogether a fresh discovery by Mr. Kissinger.

3. Mr. Kissinger does not directly challenge the first principle of the Liberal (and official) position toward the Soviet Union: the defensive, negative posture of U.S. strategy. He does not explicitly declare what is to be done with our limited warfare capability, if we develop it. Thus he permits an interpretation of his proposals as only a technical improvement on the established strategy of containment conceived as a bridge to normal co-existence.

This ambiguity and the caution with names may be intended by Mr. Kissinger as a tactical maneuver to permit him to carry on a dialogue with the leaders of opinion that would be cut off if he brought his attack into the open, directed it against individuals, and seemed to be lining up with the outlawed Right. It is a fact, moreover, that if he had condemned George Kennan, quoted Whittaker Chambers instead of Nathan Leites, and proclaimed (instead of whispered) that we could and should have intervened in Hungary, then his critical reception would have been considerably less ample and less warm.

The problem of communication is real enough, but I doubt that Mr. Kissinger has solved it. His rhetorical sacrifice is too great, too close to a political capitulation. By his own principles he knows that in a struggle it is not machines, weapons, plans or organization that decide, but political *will;* the problem is not merely *what* is done, or with what, but *who* does it.

Mr. Kissinger as author, so thorough in facing the ultimate problems of the world conflict, has evaded his own decisive problem. In consequence, I am afraid, this excellent book will, like the studies of the Rand Corporation and the Harvard Russian Center, prove politically sterile. Mr. Kissinger will continue to bump up against an always unpleasant realization: that if he is serious in a challenge to the prevailing view, he will have to make somebody cross.

Why Teachers Won't Teach

When Dr. D. Louise Sharp—who is dean of women at Central Michigan College—began collecting these 120 little essays, *Why Teach?* (Holt, $4.00), a "nationally known educator" advised her: "Keep the book as free as possible from the pedestrian phrases and circumlocutions that not only bewilder but bore readers and which, alas, are not wholly lacking in a good deal of professional literature. Leave out of this the dreary tables from the guidance experts and the gaudy harangues of the educational evangelists. Make of teaching a challenge to the best minds, to the most adventurous spirits, and to the highest ideals that we have yet conceived."

By and large, Dean Sharp has complied with these counsels: most of the statements are decently written, and some—like Professor William Ernest Hocking's "The Eighth Grade" —are valuable and entertaining. Almost all of them suffer from an extreme brevity that makes escape from platitude difficult, however, and which gives them a repetitious tone; the editor might have done better to have published twenty instead of a hundred and twenty statements. The contributors are remarkably various: Ezra Taft Benson, Omar Bradley, Stuart Chase, Norman Cousins, Clifton Fadiman, Claude M. Fuess, Paul Hoffman, Margaret Mead, Yehudi Menuhin, Dore Schary, Ralph W. Sockman, Pitirim Sorokin, Adlai Stevenson, Mark Van Doren, etc., etc.

A good many people decline to teach who would make very good teachers; and one of the persons most responsible for this state of affairs is a contributor to this volume, Mr. William Heard Kilpatrick. This sample from his "Teaching as a Desirable Profession" is itself sufficient illustration of what is wrong with the educationist hierarchy, the "patronage network of Teachers College, Columbia," which works diligently to drive out of teaching any teacher who declines to conform to its canons:

> Learning also is essential in the life process. Only as we learn from experience can the past serve the present. Also current learnings serve. As one faces a new situation—and these appear continually—he must size it up as to both threats and possibilities. With these in mind—that is, learned —one next proceeds to act. If a measure succeeds, it is thereby more strongly learned for future use; if a measure fails, one learns not to use it. In such ways one learns and so grows. He learns what he lives.

This mixture of truism and fallacy, so wretchedly expressed, suggests that our first necessity in recruiting more and better teachers is to break with the dogmas of entrenched "instrumentalism"—and with the smug educational bureaucrats who call such stuff "educational philosophy." A superintendent of schools recently told me that were it not for compulsion, 90 per cent of the teachers he knows would drop out of their state education association—affiliated with the National Education Association—being utterly bored with the platitudes of that crew. Too many teachers drop out of the profession altogether in despair of ever being allowed really to teach by this hierarchy. It would have been refreshing to read in *Why Teach?* some examination of this problem; but Dr. Sharp told her contributors to "exclude controversial issues."

RUSSELL KIRK

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REVIEWED IN BRIEF

INDIA: THE AWAKENING GIANT, by W. S. Woytinsky (Harper, $3.75). Mr. Woytinsky assumes that man is exclusively an economic animal; and that therefore the purpose of mankind is the abolition of Poverty. He accordingly ignores most fundamental problems of human society. Nehru's Five-Year Plans, the villages and cities of India described in these pages belong to a world as unreal as talk in the United Nations or the dreams of an opium eater. But the world of reality is governed by laws that will continue to operate, however tightly Mr. Woytinsky and his fellows may close their eyes. If the transformation of India projected by Nehru and his "intellectuals" is to be carried out, it will first be necessary to subvert and destroy the ancient and venerable culture of the Hindu people, which is based on the doctrine of metempsychosis and *karma*. And when a nation's soul is destroyed, all that is left is the animal instinct of barbarism. The only possible result in India is a social explosion that may loose upon the world another bandit horde of 400 million. R.P.O.

THOMAS WOLFE'S CHARACTERS, by Floyd C. Watkins (University of Oklahoma, $3.75). Unless society changes very radically, it is hard to imagine five-year-olds who will not be enchanted with Pooh Bear; twelve-year-olds who won't fight with pirates on Treasure Island; and eighteen-year-olds who won't identify their pimply urge to write with Thomas Wolfe's portraits of the poet as a voracious young provincial. Wolfe had power certainly (Gertrude Stein once compared him to Niagara Falls, adding that "the water at the bottom is no better and no different than the water at the top"), but what he disgorged is less useful to adults than to post-pubescents. His greatest popularity was in Germany; and he cannot easily be read after twenty, except by people who have read him earlier and are resavoring their own past. Wolfe's truest readers will not care any more about Mr. Watkins' professorial soundings of his real-life family than admirers of Christopher Robin will care to know that their hero's legal name was Milne. R.P.

GASLIGHT AND SHADOW: THE WORLD OF NAPOLEON III, by Roger L. Williams (Macmillan, $5.50). The Second Empire produced—or rather, coexisted with—some first-rate men; but, excepting Louis Pasteur, Mr. Williams has picked only its shoddy, florid second-raters for his decade of representative leaders. In a preface, he recommends all that picturesquely naughty gaslight, and even enters a plea for the 19th century as a laboratory period in which men were challenged to "redefine liberty." This may be true, but government in France under Napoleon III had no part of it, being, indeed, so consistently and brutally inept that the defeat of 1870 seems to have been one of Clio's most just and merciful *coups de grace*. R.B.

THE COMPACT HISTORY OF THE U.S. NAVY, by Fletcher Pratt (Hawthorn, $4.95). This is the last of some fifty books, mostly on naval history, written by Fletcher Pratt. He died just a year ago, shortly after finishing the manuscript. The volume of his output was staggering, and yet the quality of his writing was invariably high. He made himself master of his subject as very few in his time have done. This history is a fine recapitulation of his previous work. If American history is still taught in our schools, I hope that this will become a leading reference book. "The sun," as they say in the Navy, "is just coming over the yardarm," so here goes a tall one as a toast to Fletcher Pratt, a first-rate writer and historian, and a patriot. M.M.G.

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES FOR SCHOOLS, edited by W. D. Wall (New York University for Unesco Institute for Education, $2.75). Here complete with the usual verbiage about "the fullest possible development of each child's personality in consonance with the needs of his society," is a report on the extent to which "educational psychologists" have succeeded in penetrating the school systems of Europe. This leads, of course, to a vision of the glorious future in which every school and every family in the world will be run by a "child guidance clinic team of psychologist, psychiatrist, and psychiatric social worker." Three such experts should be able unassisted to break any child's spirit and reduce him to a well-adjusted little moron incapable of serious thought or moral integrity. In this way the happy world of the future will be assured of a population uniformly composed of carefree little rabbits who will contentedly sit in their cages and nibble the lettuce so generously provided by their Keepers. R.P.O.

THE PINK HOTEL, by Dorothy Erskine and Patrick Dennis (Putnam, $3.50). No political implications in the pink, nor any universal overtones in the hotel. Just a robustly-narrated clutter of sexy high jinks in the guest suites and service elevators of a Florida resort. Funny, slight, tawdry, *i.e.*, exactly what the subject deserves. R.B.

THE SQUARE PEGS: SOME AMERICANS WHO DARED TO BE DIFFERENT, by Irving Wallace (Knopf, $5.00). Nine classic loons, *genus Americanus*—wherewith Mr. Wallace wishes to prod our long-lost instinct for being individuals. "What these eccentrics offer," he says, "is the example of uninhibited personality, a trait so lacking in our highly organized age." But do they? A man who tried to persuade Congress that the earth was hollow; the *soi-disant* king of an unclaimed island in the south Atlantic; the nymphomaniac who ran for President on a free-love ticket —don't these instances of mere megalomania, funny as they are, betray Mr. Wallace's avowed purpose? Why not some instances of men who were extreme individuals *without* being cranks—say, Poe, or Daniel Boone, or one of the Pilgrims of 1620, or even some of the lesser-known signers of the Declaration of Independence? R.P.

To the Editor

The Role of Elizabeth II

You correctly note [editorial, August 24] that the present rash of criticism of the modes and mores of the British Sovereign is an attack on the Monarchy itself—even if unintended.

If you accept the premise that the accidents of descent and primogeniture can invest a person with the power to "excite respect and veneration in the hearts" of a nation or commonwealth, then you are bound to regard personal criticism as "impertinence."

What does it matter, says the true monarchist, if the Queen is no good at public speaking and has no flair for elegance in dress? What does it matter if her choice of friends and advisors is dull? She is not Queen because of her taste, skill, ability, or discernment. She is Queen because she is the oldest daughter of the King. . . .

So far as I can make out, the only "important constitutional function" of the British Monarch is to be a symbol, to be popular. And so I don't see how you can discount "audience appeal." I suggest that what Elizabeth I solidified with bloodshed and exploitation is disintegrating under Elizabeth II with boredom and exasperation.

I had not realized, until I read your editorial, that American conservatives are supposed to regret this. And even now, I am thinking of foregoing the opportunity of being waved at from an open car by the Royal Pair when they come here as symbols of the England they are beginning to bore and irk.

New York City PHIL NICOLAIDES

The Author and the Carpenter

The article by Garry Wills about *Time* magazine [August 3] states a position toward mass production which appears to be a constant factor in NATIONAL REVIEW's criticism and counsel. This position appears to me the direct opposite of what is most likely correct. Therefore, the structure of NATIONAL REVIEW's thought often looks contradictory and lopsided: splendidly worked out policies which cover part of the ground are distorted by careless and formless shapes permitted to dominate another area of proper concern.

Mr. Wills claims, or pretends, to have "no complaint against dead machines." Words, he distinguishes absolutely from the other creations of men. Words express thought; they "bear the mark of an individual's mind." On the other hand, he tells us, "I am not one who deplores the passing of craftsmanship in the manufacture of material products—the substitution, for wood fashioned by a man's hand, of plastic stamped by a die. . . . Furniture need not bear the mark of a man's hand. . . ." So, the centralized, assembly-line, machine production of literature is bad, but not so that of furniture and other material products.

This is absurd—as Garry Wills very likely wanted us to conclude for ourselves. Material products obviously do bear the mark of the men who make and use them. Statues and pictures and sheets of music can do so almost as fully as printed pages of words. Things embody human personality in various, relative degrees. The relative degree is important.

The argument, of course, continues that centralized mass production and distribution of commodities powerfully affect the men engaged in such production and distribution—for the most part adversely. The commodities themselves powerfully affect the consumers—and again, in large part unfortunately. This is an uncomfortable field of study which NATIONAL REVIEW neglects, leaving big time industry and assembly line products entirely too free of criticism.

NATIONAL REVIEW neglects to worry about the relation between giantism in politics (which it consistently and inspiringly deplores), and giantism in economics (which it inconsistently and tamely accepts). Private economy, as simply private, when it develops the out-of-human scale and far-from-humane methods and products which centralized mass industry tends to impose on the land and on the people, does not seem to deserve the remarkable religious sanction which John Chamberlain gave it in his review, in the same issue, of the fifty-cent R. H. Tawney book. On the same page, Robert Phelps appears to look farther when he expresses a contradictory sympathy for the decentralized sabotage of Henry Miller in Big Sur.

San Francisco, Cal. PHILIP BURNHAM

THREE ON THE LINE

(*Continued from p.* 181)

privileges everybody else doesn't have then something ought to be done about it. I seem to sense such an appeal in the current propaganda in favor of a United Nations Bill of Rights, each draft of which seems to come closer to saying: nothing will do except a world-wide cooperative commonwealth of equal men.

Well, either the appeal is there, or it is not; either the Liberals are saying, in effect, one drunken wife-beater equals one gentleman, one ignoramus equals one scholar, one lazy pauper equals one hard-working merchant; either they are saying that, or they are not. But if they *are* saying it, Conservatism can give only one answer, which is the answer it believes the American people have consistently given to Liberal leveling proposals. *Rights and privileges are correlative to duties; a man has a right to those rights and privileges that he earns by the performance of his duties.* People differ enormously, moreover, in their capacity and disposition to discharge duties, and in the energy they can put into the attempt; and the good society is good just to the extent that it confers rights and privileges on those of its members who perform their duties, and withholds rights and privileges from those who do not perform them.

Those, I say, are the principles—first one, then another—that underlie the positions adopted by our one-issue spokesmen in our day-to-day politics. And no man—living or dead—deserves to be called a Conservative who hasn't laid it on the line about all three.

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